Catholics and American Democracy
– John Cogley

THE

# Commonweal

## STRANGERS TO THEIR OWN

by Manfred George

## JUNG AND THE CHRISTIANS

by Karl Stern

Volume LVIII, Number 9 June 5, 1953 Twenty Cents

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THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

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Published weekly, printed and copyrighted 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., MUrray Hill 3-9685. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada, $7 a year. Foreign, $8. Single copies, 20c.

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# THE Commonweal

## week by week

### TIME FOR A CHANGE

DURING the most bitter days of the Presidential campaign no one was heard to say that Dwight D. Eisenhower was in any positive sense a "dangerous" man or that he would, if elected, be a "bad" President. Even then almost everyone continued to like "Ike."

But many who "liked" the General well enough voted for his opponent, not because they thought that if elected the General might be a "dangerous" or "bad" President, but because they feared he would be what, negatively, amounts to the same thing—a weak one. His campaign performance led them to suspect that, as President, the General might be a "captive" of those elements in his party whose influence he then seemed either unwilling or unable to resist—that, as President, he would continue in his campaign role of the personally amiable, politically ambiguous, man.

After November 4, those who had feared these things must have hoped, as an editorial in this magazine stated at the time, "that the General elected will manifest that grasp of the complexity of problems and the need for leadership within his own party of which the General campaigning seemed so disturbingly innocent," and that ". . . the leader so effectively obscured during the past few months (for the sake of party 'harmony') will speedily come forth."

Since taking office in January this leader has "come forth"—intermittently, and rather briefly. There was the admirable assertion of Executive courage in the Bohlen incident. There was the magnificent Presidential address on world affairs. Each of these was wildly applauded by a worried international audience which hoped that they marked the end of what had gone before. In both instances, however, they quickly seemed, quite literally, a mere relief between the acts of the real tragi-comedy being played on the stage of American politics.

Now the "real" Eisenhower has emerged for a third time in his invitation to the heads of the British and French governments to meet with him to discuss Allied strategy in the face of the Russian "peace offensive." And so, once again the world's attention has been diverted from Senator McCarthy's various "crusades" to the promise of a responsible American leadership. The world must hope that this time the emergence will prove no mere "relief"—that the leader is here to stay.

THE sad truth of the matter is that, to date, the President's brief appearances as President have not been enough. Leadership which is relief is no leadership at all. When Clement Attlee wondered in Parliament who was the more powerful in the United States, President Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy, he asked a question which was unwise because it could only embarrass both the British and American governments. But the reason it was embarrassing is, tragically, because it is so pertinent. Many in this country must recently have asked it too.

That is the really embarrassing thing, and that is the reason why President Eisenhower's impending meeting with Sir Winston Churchill and the French Premier (with its promise of active Eisenhower leadership) is both welcome and important. The President will here be provided an opportunity to answer Mr. Attlee's troublesome question through his own exertion of independence. And it is here, probably, that his real troubles will begin.

For in this event the President's real troubles will probably come from the members of his own party—and perhaps from a majority of its members. If Mr. Eisenhower is to formulate and execute a viable foreign policy which will keep the Allied coalition intact and offer any chance, however remote, of achieving a *modus vivendi* with the Communist world, he will almost certainly court their wrathful opposition. The Dirksens, the McCarthys, and the Knowlands will have no part of such a policy. They would, as recent speeches in the Senate indicate, rather "go it alone"—down a path which could end only in atomic war and de-



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struction for the United States as well as for the rest of the world.

If President Eisenhower refuses to take this path he will be denounced. If he asserts real leadership he may have to rely for support on members of the opposition party. No matter. If a real and enlightened Executive leadership comes, not as relief, but as a consistent policy, the President can be assured of support, regardless of political parties. The nation and the whole free world continue to await it.

### THE TAX FIGHT

ONE of the unavoidable ingredients in our global struggle—and the national effort to build up strength adequate enough to discourage an attack—is its unrelievedly heavy cost. Business executives and individual taxpayers are particularly conscious of the tax burdens under which they operate. They supply the greatest single pressure for economy in Washington.

Decision in these matters rests with Congress, which in its present session has shown itself highly sensitive to the widespread desire for reduced government spending. The House Tax Chairman himself, Representative Daniel A. Reed, is in the forefront of the drastic economizers. President Eisenhower has made one of his rare interventions with Congress in support of budget and tax cuts that are more moderate.

Yet in what way has the general situation changed? After a few conciliatory verbal gestures the new Soviet regime has settled down to be as obdurate as ever. Russian production of atomic weapons, development of aircraft and concentration on heavy industry continue at fever pitch. Communist efforts and ambition are not abating in any sector of the world. Nor has there been any notable growth in strength and unity of purpose in Western Europe, nor of pro-Western sentiment and economic and political stability in underdeveloped lands throughout the globe. The need for vast expenditures is as great as ever.

What the President, and his adherents in this matter, are after has to be evaluated with that in mind. In view of the perils involved in lowering our defenses at this stage, his financial objectives are clearly preferable to Congressman Reed's. A six-month extension of the Excess Profits Tax is better than its immediate demise; December 31 is a better expiration date for the eleven per cent higher individual income tax rate than June 30; fifty-two per cent for the tax on corporation earnings is more in line with present needs than forty-seven per cent. Since the Eisenhower schedule imperils national defenses by that much less, it should be supported against the extremists.

But it should be recognized for the compromise that it is. It should also be viewed in conjunction with certain Treasury Department plans—if not to bring about national sales taxes, at least to enlarge the scope of excise taxes to the point that they fall on many new commodities. For here is a device which shifts more of the tax burden to middle- and lower-income tax groups (those least able to bear more taxes). Hence the matter at stake is not one of great principle. The Eisenhower budget-and-tax program, however, calls for firm public support as the best attainable within the bounds of the possible right now.

## NEXT WEEK

SEYMOUR KRIM writes about science fiction and the literary imagination.

"It is a fact that, skeptical as we may be of science fiction as the savior of imaginative prose, we cannot allow ourselves to forget that it has popularized something which is truly awesome and which has only occurred in our time. And that is that men are beginning to invade the domain of the poets. The moon, stars, planets and the infinite spaces that made Pascal shudder are falling under the sway of men for the first time in history, and the possibilities that this new horizon offers to the imagination, and to the literary imagination in particular, are not to be taken lightly."

### WATCHING THE WATCHMEN

WITH the world situation what it is, no one who values the safety of the U.S. would deny the government the right to remove persons who are security-risks from sensitive government posts. But in all such cases, security should remain the key. In practice, there is a growing tendency to equate the unorthodox with the treasonable, the unpopular with the subversive.

What we are witnessing is the blunting of public ability to distinguish between what is harmful and what is not, between the intent to subvert and the right to dissent. What we face is not one, but two threats. On the one hand, there is the obvious threat from the Soviet Union and from its devoted adherents inside our own ranks. On the



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other, we must protect ourselves from those who would destroy liberty in the name of liberty, those who regard dissent with suspicion and political unorthodoxy as treason.

One week's news stories indicate how complex are the dangers we face. William Perl is a leading aerodynamics expert and a former physics professor at Columbia. The government planned to use him as a prosecution witness in the Rosenberg case, but Perl denied under oath that he knew either Julius Rosenberg or Morton Sobell. Now a jury has convicted him of perjury on two counts in his denials, and in asking high bail the U.S. Attorney reported that the Government was now prepared to "link this defendant to the Rosenberg espionage ring—directly."

A less ominous case, but still a disturbing one, is provided by Edwin S. Smith, a member of the National Labor Relations Board for seven years. Testifying before a Senate committee, Mr. Smith did say that he had never engaged in any espionage for the Soviet government. But although he had sworn in taking his government post that he belonged to no organization which advocated the overthrow of the government, he now refused to say whether he had been a secret Communist while serving on the National Labor Relations Board.

Cases like these are often cited by people who feel that the procedures of the various investigating committees should not be subjected to criticism. And certainly it is true enough that the dangers involved in subversion and Communist infiltration are great. But in the same week's news, reports on other cases appeared to illustrate another kind of danger we now face.

There was, for instance, the case of Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton. Mrs. Horton is a woman with a distinguished record. The wartime head of the Waves, she was for thirteen years president of Wellesley College and, ironically enough, was one of the early members of the "Draft Eisenhower" movement. Shortly after the inauguration of President Eisenhower, Mrs. Horton was invited to represent the Administration at a session of the UN Economic and Social Commission in New York. But Mrs. Horton's appointment never got through the security-clearance machinery. No one ventured to suggest that Mrs. Horton had not been cleared for any real reasons of security. Instead the facts seem to be that she was unacceptable largely because the board of the National Council of Churches of Christ—of which she is a member—had once criticized the methods of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

More serious is the case of Stuart Denton Morris. A well-known British pacifist, Mr. Morris was scheduled to lecture in this country under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, an agency of the Quakers, and the War Resisters League. Despite the fact that the Quakers had received advance notice that his entry would be approved, on arrival Mr. Morris was denied entrance to the United States and is at this writing being detained on Ellis Island. To date, the only explanation given for this action is citation of that section of the McCarran Act refusing admittance to persons who might "engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the United States."

Since this magazine has always supported the use of arms to check Soviet aggression, Mr. Morris would probably find our non-pacifist views extremely repugnant. But we fail to see that the security of the United States would be hurt by letting Mr. Morris have his say.

Here is the nub of the problem. The free institutions of the West are not so feeble as their Congressional defenders imagine them. They are not, for example, so weak that they will be endangered by pacifist lectures. But their strength depends upon the continuation of legitimate freedom of opinion and expression. If the free expression and exchange of ideas is confused with subversion, we will have thrown away one of our most effective weapons.

Protection against real subversion is essential. But freedom cannot be effectively defended against subversion by those who are unable to see any essential difference between espionage and a series of public lectures by a pacifist, or between subversion and criticism of the House Un-American Activities Committee. While people unable to make such distinctions are in charge of the security programs, friends of freedom will have to watch both the Communists and the investigators.

### *LEFT AND RIGHT IN FRANCE*

FOR the seventeenth time since the war, France's leaders are attempting to put together a government, but it is like building a house of cards, and everyone knows that it can only go so high before it falls again, for the eighteenth time.

Electoral reforms are advocated to cure this permanent impermanence of the Fourth Republic. A bill has been introduced by the Minister of State which would give the government greater authority, and make its overthrow by the Assembly more difficult. Whether it will be adopted is an open question.

Other reforms have been proposed which would dissolve the Assembly and force new elections whenever the Assembly chose to overthrow the



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cabinet. These plans would help to cure the instability which was built into the French Constitution. But neither would cure the growing split between right and left that is a central fact of the French crisis. What small reconciliation the war brought to these traditionally hostile groups is fast dissipating.

Archbishop Richaud of Bordeaux recently published a report on the social state of France. It was undertaken in all of the dioceses of the country as a basis for Catholic social action, and contains some disquieting conclusions. It says that profits of French business are increasing, while that degree of social responsibility which exists among French businessmen is decreasing. Profit-sharing plans and co-ownership movements are losing ground. Employers limit their theorizing to the defense of liberty and authority. Most workers regard class warfare as a fact of life; they believe that they will improve their condition only by force. "Almost all salaried workers in effect are convinced they are victims of organized injustice."

Workers' buying power is lower than before the war, although national income is up. Consequently workers believe that socialism, with its radical reorganization of society, is the only practical cure.

This report reveals a great deal about the problem of France today. Central Parties exist only when there is some degree of centralist spirit, of moderation, cooperation and a joint effort for common social goals. This extreme polarization of opinion reported by Archbishop Richaud is a menacing portent for moderate democracy in France. And tragically, the cure would seem to be locked into the evil, for only a strong government is likely to attack social injustice and yet so long as there is no real improvement in conditions, the people are not likely to give a central bloc sufficient power to make a strong government.

### THREAT TO CONSERVATION

HOUSE subcommittee hearings on a bill embodying new regulations for grazing on public lands followed hard upon the signing of the law that assigns title to the offshore oil lands to the four adjacent states. This may explain the vehemence of the debate between Western stockmen and conservationists. An important sector of the public domain is at stake.

Bills introduced in House and Senate would guarantee tenure to cattle- and sheep-growers with temporary permits from the Forestry Service to graze their animals on national forests and other public lands. It would permit them to transfer or pass on such permissions to their successors. It would substitute a certain title by law for permissions now granted for a time—and on the basis of analysis of the situation—by officials charged with protecting the nation's public lands.

Professional conservationists and others opposing this measure emphasize the special privileges it would bestow on a comparatively small but highly interested group. They cite the propensity of Western stockmen for overgrazing. They assert that the likely damage to the public domain from erosion, deforestation and the like would greatly injure the much wider public of the farmlands and down-valley communities dependent upon these preserves for water and forest products. Also concerned are the millions who each year enjoy the recreational facilities of our great national parks. The case for the substantial privileges that would be bestowed by H.R.4023 and S.1491 is a poor one.

### E II R

WHEN this editorial appears, the young mother will have taken the orb and the sceptre, and will wear the ring and crown. And the postboxes will wear a new monogram, and the ships will bear her title. The "anomaly on which the sun never sets," as Barbara Ward calls the Commonwealth, will proclaim Elizabeth Queen.

She takes the crown, and her subjects and the people of the Commonwealth talk of a new Elizabethan age, hoping without good reason for hope that the reign of this girl will see a restoration of peace, and a new respect between nations. Well, hope would be nothing if it were not to be indulged in when all else is dark. We hope for peace, and the essential optimism displayed in the ceremony of youth in tradition's clothes taking leadership of the Commonwealth is freshness in the stale lives of many of us. Perhaps that is why the hardy republicans of America hang on their television sets to see the ceremony.

But let's go all the way in this new Elizabethan age. Let's hope not only for peace, but for the astonishing vitality and creativeness of that period. We, who live in a time when the roar of life is discordant, perhaps suspect, might learn something of the shape of magnificence from such as Raleigh, Drake, Shakespeare and Marlowe. We would do well to learn from them, because when the roar of life is edited, its echoes soon fade and we listen to hear nothing but the gray noise of mediocrity. So we welcome the tattoo of drums, the flashing gold and scarlet of England in June, 1953. And we Americans wish a long life and a prosperous reign to our respected friend, the Queen.



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# Strangers to Their Own

**NO HAPPY ENDING IS IN SIGHT FOR THREE THOUSAND AMERICAN-GERMAN CHILDREN OF NEGRO BLOOD.**

## MANFRED GEORGE

A TROLLEY is clanging its way through the narrow streets of Munich. At one stop a woman gets on, carrying a baby. Inside the car, she unbundles the infant, and soon a brown-skinned little face peers out from under the covers. The passengers' glances are magnetically drawn to the baby. There is neither curiosity nor kindness in their stares. The car is suddenly filled with the oppressive air of aversion and contempt and condemnation.

This is not an isolated scene. Such incidents can be witnessed almost everywhere in Germany today: these are the children of U.S. Negro occupation troops. Some of them are legitimate, but most of them are not. This kind of "invasion" has never happened before in Germany on a similar scale.

After the first World War, some French colonial troops were stationed in the country, and left a few colored offspring behind. Before 1918, when Germany still had her African colonies, it would occasionally happen that a Negro somehow or other landed in Germany. The people would marvel at the exotic creature, who usually ended up as the doorman of a hotel or a cabaret. If anything his dark color was a source of awe and wonderment to the Germans.

In the city of Berlin—always less bigoted than the rest of the country—Negroes never had any trouble. In the late twenties all of Berlin went crazy over Josephine Baker, and recently, when the Negro cast of *Porgy and Bess* performed in the German capital, they were received with unprecedented enthusiasm and admiration.

The story of the Negro children is different, and infinitely tragic. They are growing up in a world in which there are no adults of their own color. Most of them have been abandoned by their fathers and cannot understand why they are where they are, and how they got there. Some inexplicable destiny has placed them among white people, like strange and unwelcome plants in a forbidden garden.

Out of the ninety-four thousand illegitimate children of American occupation troops, three thousand four hundred are of mixed blood. The German attitude toward all these young "intruders" is not friendly at best, but it is particularly hostile where colored children are concerned.

In the fall of 1952, the oldest among them went to school for the first time. One of the teachers told me: "A little colored boy came running to me after the first day in school and begged me to give him some water and soap. 'Please rub off that black color,' he said."

This story has a familiar ring to it, but God knows, it really might have happened in Germany. A priest told me of the prayer of a little girl: "Dear God, please make me white, like all the other people."

In Frankfurt-on-the-Main I talked to a leader in the struggle now being waged against the unreason and intolerance shown toward these innocents. He is Erich Lissner, a poet, who is also the feature editor of the liberal daily *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

"This is a problem of human decency," he said, "and involves freedom from prejudice."

Lissner travels all over the country in his spare time lecturing against racial discrimination and has carried out his theories in practice. Although he and his wife have five children of their own, they have adopted a colored child. They named the boy Donatus—a beautiful name meaning "he who has been given"—and they call him Doni, for short. Doni loves his foster brothers and sisters, and the neighbors had accepted him as belonging to the community. But then came the first day in school, and with it the first problems and the inevitable collisions in a hostile environment.

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Mr. George is editor of Aufbau, a German-language monthly published in New York City.



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IN fairness to German liberals, it should be noted that they have made an honest effort not only to enlighten the parents of the white pupils, but above all the teachers in the schools. Significantly enough it was the German Coordination Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Collaboration which published a leaflet titled, "What Does This Have To Do With Me?", when the first colored children entered German schools.

In simple but forceful and convincing terms this little publication describes how the average German can further the harmonious co-existence between white and colored children and how he can solve the conflicts inherent in this situation. A single paragraph sums up the whole tragedy of these youngsters and clearly appeals to the kindheartedness and moral conscience of the teachers:

"For most of these colored children their school years are liable to be the happiest period in an otherwise unhappy life. Remember that the choice of a profession, the problems of love and marriage, will present insurmountable obstacles for most of them as it is."

An illustrated pamphlet on the same subject is called "Maxi, our Negro Boy." In it, a teacher who is suddenly confronted with a colored child in his class becomes involved in a world of human conflicts and predicaments of which he had never dreamed.

The teacher has lived through the Hitler terror and Nazi racial legislation. He knows the dreadful consequences of this doctrine, not only for the Jews but for all Germans without exception. But, after all, the Jews had lived in Germany since the twelfth century and were indistinguishable from the rest of the people, while a Negro on exhibit in a circus or village fair was regarded as a "savage."

And here, all at once, were Negro children. The most disconcerting thing about them was the way they talked. They spoke not only fluent German, but the dialect of the region, as though they were of old stock and had never known any other environment. It was all extremely upsetting.

In his own community, the people had become accustomed to the strange sight of Maxi, the black child. But in school things were different. Encircled by white children, half scared and half challenging and screaming "Black devil! Black devil!" with the typical cruelty children will direct against an outsider, the little boy was chased around the courtyard. The teacher was confronted with a troublesome task: he had to solve the racial problem, not only for himself, but for the whole class.

HOW do these children spend the years before they go off to school? Erich Lissner took some statistics from his desk drawer and gave me the following report:

"Sixty-eight per cent are raised by their mothers, seven per cent by their grandparents, four per cent by adoptive parents; nine per cent are with foster parents, and twelve per cent are placed in homes. Our own Negro child, whom we adopted, was brought to us by a married couple who had found the baby in front of their doorstep, wrapped in newspapers and with a cardboard box for a cradle. Generally speaking, it's very hard to find foster mothers for such children. Even women who sorely need the small state subsidy they receive for bringing up the children, fight tooth and nail against this kind of burden. Their main argument is: 'What will people think of me?'

"As long as the children are little," Lissner said, "it isn't so bad. But now the fact that there is no kindred group of people in Germany for these children to lean on makes their case a special problem. At first, we planned to have segregation in the schools, but we soon dropped the idea. The church, the school authorities, the press and the radio started relatively early in their campaign for a common education of the white and colored children. We didn't want to establish ghettoes for the duration of the school period. Segregation, of course, would prevent many an unpleasant incident; it would relieve many a teacher of the responsibility to intervene and to explain. But if these children don't learn early how to fight for their rights they will never learn it later. The consequence would be the formation of an asocial group within our own society."

Lissner's attitude, which is shared by the best liberals of Germany, has deeply impressed a number of American visitors to that country who have studied the question closely. Some steps have already been taken to alleviate the future plight of these children. During a recent meeting of the World Brotherhood movement in Wiesbaden, for instance, Hermann Eveling, the German representative of the organization, eloquently argued in favor of an additional clause, to be incorporated into the Geneva Convention, which would protect the rights of illegitimate colored children. In particular, he demanded progressive legislation on adoption and unrestricted travel abroad for them.

However, it cannot be denied that there are other German groups which persist in their bigotry. Recently, the president of the Bavarian Women's Club, Frau Elisabeth Meyers-Spreckels, made a violent anti-American speech in which she requested the German government to intercede with the United States to send over no more Negroes with the occupation troops.

Shortly thereafter, there was a tumultuous session in the Bavarian Diet, caused by Frau Emma Steinle, a teacher. In discussing the problem at America House in Augsburg, she reminded her audience of Germany's "pride in her racial purity." "A true German should no more consort with a Negro than a self-respecting Gentile would with a Jew," she said. However, the Catholic



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parliament of Bavaria showed no sympathy for this Nazi attitude and demanded that the teacher be discharged.

There are of course quite a few colored children who are legitimate. When the school term began last Fall, the American-owned newspaper *Neue Zeitung* published a picture story. It centered around six-year-old Torsten—Negro children in Germany are frequently given old Germanic names such as Astrid, Freya, Siegfried, Hagen, and so on—whose father, John Austin W., is now stationed in Nuernberg. Torsten's white mother already has two children by her first marriage, and they both adore the little boy.

IN addition to teacher-parent discussions, conferences and official debates that are being held on this delicate subject, there is also a German film dramatizing the problem. The movie, called "Toxi," has been playing to crowded audiences. Its heroine is a black little girl who portrays the life of a colored child in Germany. Her real name is Elfie Fliegert, who was fortunate enough to be adopted by an understanding German couple.

The film offered a comparatively easy way out: playing heavily on the tear glands of the audience, it provides a colored American father, who comes back at the crucial moment and takes his little daughter back home with him. This happy and pat ending pleased the German public, because it conveniently solved the whole problem for them.

But outside the wonderland of the movies, there is no happy ending. In the real world of postwar Germany, several thousand children—and their number is growing—face a difficult and uncertain future in a land which they can never call their own.

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***CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA IV***

# Catholics and American Democracy

## JOHN COGLEY

EVEN the most assiduous critics of Catholicism don't charge the Catholic *people* of the United States with being "un-American," undemocratic or unpatriotic. Aside from the rantings of a few fanatics, we hear no general accusation that America's thirty million Catholics constitute an anti-democratic fifth column in the nation.

Suspicions and fears about Catholics are largely concerned not with the present but with the future—with what will happen on that improbable day when Catholics as a majority in the United States have the legal power to destroy the democratic way of life as it is now understood among us and to erect the classical "Catholic State" in this country.

In this "Catholic" America, it is fearfully anticipated, separation of Church and State will go; "error will have no rights" (that is, non-Catholic sects and churches will suffer severe legal disabilities, losing, for instance, their present civil right to worship publicly and proselytize freely). Further, it is believed, many traditional liberties (freedom of press, of speech and academic procedure, for example) will be severely curtailed if not altogether abolished; the public expression of ideas "dangerous" or unorthodox from a Catholic viewpoint will be forbidden, and the laws of the land will be recast to conform rigidly to Catholic doctrine.

Very few critics of Catholicism actually believe that the Pope will move into the White House or even that he will take a very direct part in the internal affairs of the "Catholic" United States—which, I suppose, is progress of a sort; but the picture here drawn of a "Catholicized" nation surely haunts many discussions of Catholicism and American democracy.

I suspect some such picture was in the minds of the Reverend Robert J. McCracken's parishioners when they heard their minister say from the pulpit of the Riverside Church, in 1951: "Roman Catholicism is engaged in a ceaseless surreptitious pressure to obtain a position of preference in the New World. Nor can there be any doubts as to the success attending its efforts." It is, in short, the Catholic theory as they understand it which frightens non-Catholic Americans, more than the Church as it actually exists and operates in our national life. By the same token, whenever the Popes have spoken of the actual conditions of American life, their words have been full of praise and commendation. Whatever restrictions are to be found in papal approval have also been on the level of theory. Thus in 1895 Pope Leo XIII wrote these much-quoted words,



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which have been cited through the years to prove that the Catholic Church is not really satisfied with things as they are in the U. S. and would change basic American institutions if it ever gained the power to do so:

> Moreover—a fact which it gives great pleasure to acknowledge—thanks are due [for the healthy state of the Church in the U. S.] to the equity of the laws which prevail in America and to the customs of that well-ordered Republic. For the Church among you, unopposed by the Constitution and government of your nation, is fettered by no hostile legislation, is protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, and is free to live and act without hindrance.
>
> Yet though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be as in America, dissevered and divorced.
>
> The fact that Catholicity is with you in good condition, nay, it is enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed His Church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself; but she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.

ANOTHER quotation widely circulated in non-Catholic circles is taken from *Catholic Principles of Politics* (1941) written by two American priests, John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland. This book, which is a revision of an earlier work by Monsignor Ryan and Morehouse F. X. Millar, an eminent Jesuit, dealt—in a famous passage—with a "Catholic State" and what it would mean if the United States were to become such a state. (It should be noted that an essential note of such a theoretical state is that its citizenry must be *overwhelmingly* Roman Catholic: the simple majority envisioned in many non-Catholic nightmares would not suffice.)

> Suppose that the constitutional obstacle to proscription of non-Catholics has been legitimately removed and they themselves have become numerically insignificant: What then would be the proper course of action for a Catholic State? Apparently the latter State could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organization certain privileges that had formerly been extended to all religious corporations, for example, exemption from taxation.
>
> While all this is true in logic and in theory, the event of its practical realization in any State or country is so remote in time and in probability that no practical man will let it disturb his equanimity or affect his attitude toward those who differ from him in religious faith.

But, as the Reverend Robert McAfee Brown, a Presbyterian minister, put it in a recent letter to The Commonweal, "it *does* disturb our equanimity." In fact, Catholic statements like this "scare the living daylights out of Protestants."

Practically everyone, I think, will agree that the *probability* of a United States so changed that non-Catholics have become "numerically insignificant" is indeed remote. Still, I don't think it is the actual anticipation of a "Catholic State" which disturbs non-Catholics so much as the knowledge that a significant number of their fellow-citizens entertain theories—even highly abstract theories—which, under certain circumstances, would justify the destruction of richly prized civil rights. "How," they ask, "can these people call themselves Americans? Ultimately, they don't believe in what America stands for." Their dismay is somewhat the same as that of Catholics themselves when they hear grandiose soapbox plans for America and the Church "come the revolution."

It is this basic uncertainty about Catholicism which underlies much non-Catholic suspicion in the United States. Many Americans, having only a hazy notion of the "Catholic State" theory, actually believe that the day American Catholics achieve a simple majority they will be ordered to press for its realization. And in the light of this, naturally enough, every Catholic excursion into public life is mistaken for "denominational aggression." The claim that parochial school children have a right to ride in buses for which their parents have been taxed, for instance, is judged not on its own merits but, in a larger context, as the first step toward winning state support for Catholic schools. This in turn is seen as part of an over-all plan to "Catholicize" the United States—to make the textbook "Catholic State" a reality on American soil.

In such an atmosphere, every day becomes a possible D-day; the most innocent public statements of the Catholic hierarchy are invested with bellicose meanings; and otherwise benign and tolerant Americans turn into trigger-happy defenders of a liberty that is never truly attacked. The whole situation, especially during recent years, has been shrewdly exploited by enemies of Catholicism; it makes life difficult for the friends of the Church; and American Catholics themselves, sensing the general hostile atmosphere,



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often grow mindlessly defiant and trying—aggressive in manner if not in intent—like small boys who feel that they have been unjustly accused.

IRONICALLY enough, the idea of a "Catholic State" in the U. S. is probably much more real to those who fear it than it is even to those doughty Catholic apologists and writers who regularly come to its defense as an abstract, "logical" proposition, with what must surely be taken as a suspicious zeal. There is, alas, an unhappy ambiguity in the position of Catholic theorists who are hurt and offended by the idea that other Americans deem Catholicism a threat to their own religious liberty, but who will yet clearly imply, by their support of the "Catholic State" idea and justification of religious intolerance abroad, that the non-Catholic has solid reasons to be fearful. We can't have it both ways. However logical the case for Catholic intolerance, it is not a logic which moves the minds of those who see themselves as its potential victims.

Catholic "logicians" have sometimes been heard to argue that while we are in the minority we will live by *your* logic, the logic of tolerance, but when you are in the minority, you will have to live by ours. But if that be the game, one should be willing to pay its penalties, and the present atmosphere of suspicion and distrust would seem to be a cheap enough price. Logic, after all, is a two-way street.

For all that, I seriously doubt that any more than a few extremists, even among the ardent defenders of the "Catholic State" thesis, seriously envision, or would actually welcome, such a state on American soil. This is not very "logical" for such stern logicians, I know, and probably seems highly incredible to one who does not know the American Catholic milieu. Understandably, the cold zeal with which Catholic students of philosophy and theology habitually deal with abstract propositions leads many to believe that they are as heartlessly "logical" in the world of affairs as in the realm of ideas. But, fortunately, this is rarely so. I have heard kindly, patient professors and even gentle nuns, for instance, defend the "logic" of the most frightful inquisitions; yet their personal lives clearly belied all their ferocious principles.

To the Catholic, who believes that Christ was God and that He founded a Church and remains with it, nothing is more obvious *as an abstract proposition* than that this Church is the only one which has a *logical* claim on the spiritual loyalty of mankind. For the Catholic to hold otherwise would involve either denying his faith in the uniqueness of the Church or of doing violence to reason itself.

If no human beings were involved, if the question did not come up outside the vacuum of a philosophy class, the matter could end there. But because the ideal (all men united in one true Church) does not conform to the real world (men, even Christian men, divided in their loyalty to many churches, each making its claims on the consciences of its adherents) the picture is radically changed. Still the fact that a religiously divided world unquestionably does exist in no way alters the doctrine that the one true Church has an abstract right to claim unique recognition.

All this, however, does not mean that such a claim would be pressed without consideration for a people's history, their national tradition and native temperament, or that it would be pursued at the cost of upsetting the whole political order under which the Church flourished before it gained the overwhelming majority which made its supposed ascendancy possible.

ANOTHER writer once wrote in these pages: "The guaranty of religious freedom which finally gained place in the Constitution of this country was no child of logic. It was derived from historical understanding. But the gains made by historical understanding should be no less permanent than those achieved in the natural sciences. It is just as important that men should believe in the doctrine of religious freedom as it is that they should believe the earth is round. As the modern geographic idea on the shape of the earth adjusts itself to real fact, so also religious freedom, including the right to worship as one chooses and to propagate what one believes to be religious truth, adjusts itself to the historical facts of human life, thought and experience." *("On Modern Intolerance," by James N. Vaughan. Issue of May 9, 1941.)*

Pope Leo's statement that the Church would "bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority," is true enough as a general statement. But given the historical memory of religious strife, the well-beloved tradition of the United States, the temperament of its people and the proud record of almost two centuries of religious liberty, it becomes very doubtful whether any Church in America that enjoyed "the favor of the laws" and the "patronage of public authority" would reap anything but a harvest of ill-will, subversion from within and unrelenting attack from without.

The same Leo, the outstanding theorist of Church-State relationship, wrote:

> It is the special property of human institutions and laws that there is nothing in them so holy and salutary but that custom may alter it, or time overthrow it, or social habits bring it to naught. So in the Church of God, in which changeable-



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ness of discipline is joined with absolute immutability of doctrine, it happens not rarely that things which were once apposite and suitable become in the course of time out of date, or useless or even harmful.

Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., recently said of Leo: "His sense of the relativities of history was as fine as his sense of the absoluteness of doctrine." And it is that double sense which has determined Catholic polity through the ages.

Again, of the same Pope, Father Murray wrote: "He made it clear that the Church-State relation is not an end in itself; it is importantly a matter of *vivendi disciplina,* which looks to the temporal and eternal welfare of man, who is both citizen and Christian." In the United States—even in the U. S. of that highly improbable future when non-Catholics have shriveled to a "numerically insignificant" portion of the population—the Christian is, and will be, an American, with an American's political beliefs, sentiments and tradition. It is sometimes overlooked that if conversions to Catholicism became so strikingly numerous, American Catholics would be largely recent Protestants. A "Catholic" America would certainly differ in many respects from those nations whose traditions are rooted in the medieval period and for whom political and religious loyalties have long been so inextricably tangled that heresy is looked upon as treason.

This is not to say that if such a transformation were to come over America that we became a people of almost one religious mind there would be no changes. Every radical change in any country begets other changes; that is no more than an obvious law of history. And it is a law particularly consonant with democracy. If we all became Quakers, for instance, or most of us did, I presume that our foreign policy would shift from its present military emphasis. If we all became Adventists, or most of us did, I presume that Sunday would no longer be America's day of rest. If we all became Methodists, or most of us did, I presume that there would be fewer bars on Third Avenue. And I presume also that if we all became Catholics, there would be revisions of our divorce laws, there would be public recognition of certain holy days and a hundred and one other changes. America will always, please God, reflect its people.

But it seems reasonable, and in keeping with the usual procedure of Catholicism, to conclude that these changes would take place within the framework of the hallowed political institutions and traditions of America. There is no reason to believe that a United States turned Catholic would be another Spain, any more than Italy is Spain, or Ireland is Italy, or Bavaria is France. Nor is there reason to believe that a goodly majority of Catholics in any country means, inevitably, a "Catholic State"—which, whatever its classroom vigor as a creature of logic, has largely disappeared from the real world.*

The question voiced by Mr. Will Herberg in these pages two weeks ago is an insistent query heard wherever the "Catholic problem" is discussed: "What are the long-range purposes and intentions of the Church in these matters?" In other words, is the Church working to foist a Spanish-style, "un-American" pattern on America?

I sympathize with the questioners, but I wonder if what some of them are asking for is not so much a statement of intention as a repudiation of the theological doctrines which provide the logical framework for the "Catholic State" thesis. If the latter be it, Catholics will never be able to give them the answer they want—and there are many, I know, who will not be satisfied unless the Church renounces its claim of being uniquely the Church of Christ. If, however, like Mr. Herberg, they are asking for an official assurance that the textbook spook from Ryan and Boland's *Catholic Principles of Politics* is not likely to assume flesh and blood on American soil, such assurance has already been given by the most official spokesmen of American Catholicism.

In 1948, Archbishop John T. McNicholas, speaking for the American Bishops as chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, said: "We deny absolutely and without qualification that the Catholic Bishops of the United States are seeking a union of Church and State by any endeavors whatsoever either proximately or remotely. If tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of Church and State. They would, then as now, uphold the Constitution and all its Amendments, recognizing the moral obligation imposed upon all Catholics to observe and defend the Constitution and its Amendments."

Two years earlier than this, Pope Pius XII wrote: "The increasingly frequent contacts between different religious professions, mingled indiscriminately in the same nation, have caused civil authorities to follow the principles of tolerance and liberty of conscience. In fact, there is a political tolerance, a civil tolerance, in regard to adherents of other religious beliefs which, in circumstances such as these, is a moral duty for Catholics."

*(This is the first installment of a two-part article which will be concluded next week.)*

*Father Murray, writing in the **Ecclesiastical Review**, asks: "Did the Catholic 'thesis' go out with the Bourbons? And do we now hover in midair, as it were, clutching our collective principles to our collective bosom, unable to make any application of them (save where there is dictatorship on the Bourbon model, as in Spain), and condemned to find our way through the contemporary world into the future (which belongs, I hope, to democracy) touching only on the precarious footing of expediency, what time we look back over our shoulder at the diminishing figure of Isabella II? What an extraordinary posture for the universal Church!"



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# The Wages Of Virtue

THE lay employees of Catholic organizations do not usually need to take vows of poverty. It comes to them naturally. Nor do these organizations themselves need to bother their heads about the niceties of a just wage. The state of the finances is usually such, at least in Britain, that the employee has to take what he can and the organization to give what it has got. The balance is settled in treasure laid up in Heaven. One or two organizations do, however, rise—more or less—to the heights and responsibilities of paying their way. One of these, in the last few years, has been the Catholic Social Guild.

The Guild employs, among others, a young man in general clerical work and in packing and dispatching literature. He has been getting less than the rate for his job, as understood in ordinary commercial practice. Last month the question accordingly came up of paying him the standard rate. The underpayment was obvious. The money, the treasurer said, was in the bank. It seemed a straightforward case. But the Guild's committee could hardly avoid the doctrine of the just wage, which, as every study circle member knows, is not necessarily the same as the agreed wage: even the collectively agreed wage. And on this, the committee promptly split into three parties. Let us call them respectively Theorists A, Theorists B, and the Practical Men.

Theorists A argued, on traditional lines, that an adult man of ordinary willingness and ability at his job is entitled to a family living wage. This must represent equal pay for equal work, be consistent with over-all social needs (avoiding inflation or unemployment, for example), and also be enough to keep a "normal" family at a reasonable standard for people of whatever social grade is in question. This implies (and here is the point of disagreement) that the wage should be high enough, without further adjustment by way of tax or family allowances, to keep four or five dependents (wife and three or four children) at whatever the "reasonable" standard may be. You may put it at eight or nine pounds a week for an unskilled worker in Britain. Or you may, with Fr. Cronin, throw in a washing machine, a refrigerator, and a second-hand car, and put the minimum for the American way of life in 1950 at one thousand seven hundred pounds (four thousand eight hundred dollars) a year, which on our side of the Atlantic is the salary of a pretty senior executive. Each figure is right in its time and place. The point, in either case, is that this money is meant to support a man and four or five dependents.

Theorists B replied that the five-dependents standard is unadulterated nonsense. Of course a man has a right to a salary on which he can keep a wife and three or more children. But family needs are no exception to a rule which is invariably followed in the case of all other needs. A man must have shoes. But we assume, not that he will raise, slaughter, tan, and process his cow himself, but that he will make use of the most convenient and cheap form of social cooperation for providing shoes so far invented: namely that which focuses on certain shoe plants in Northampton or Leicester or New England, but radiates out from them all over the world.

A living wage must allow for saving: but we expect a man to use a bank for his savings, not to waste money on a strong-box and a gun. We expect him to use an insurance society, or come into the state insurance scheme, not to carry his fire or sickness or unemployment risks, much more expenseively, himself.

For family needs, the most convenient and cheap form of provision is by way of a family allowance scheme; preferably, for other reasons, an industry rather than a state scheme. A man should accordingly be able, *not* to keep a family of "normal" size, at its most expensive period, out of his wage alone, *but* to afford the premium, spread over his working life (like social insurance obligations), of an allowance scheme which will help him to keep his family when the time comes. And this, actuarially speaking, requires, not a five-dependent wage, but a one and a half- or two-dependent wage.

Further, argued Theorists B, a flat rate of payment



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to men with and without families can never yield the latter a "reasonable" standard of living. What is "reasonable" is always determined by social comparison as well as by biological needs: and most of all in wealthy societies like those of the North Atlantic. There are very few people in Britain, and must be still fewer in America, who could not afford today to satisfy their biological needs if they lived on oatmeal and potatoes and sat, as the Japanese so elegantly do, on mats on the floor. Man must (quite genuinely) have not merely food but steaks, and, to quote Fr. Cronin again, turkey for Thanksgiving.

Christianity knows of other and deeper means of giving thanks than eating turkey. But the Joneses next door have turkey, and so does Smith who works at the next desk. The social differences resulting from a flat rate of payment to large and small families alike are in fact, as the Royal Commission on the Population showed for Britain, large, severely felt, and a prime cause (maybe *the* prime cause) of birth control and abortion.

FINALLY (leaving out a few miscellaneous considerations about skill differentials and so on), Theorists B argued that the attempt to pay all adult men on a five-dependent standard must mean a chronic tendency to inflation. The "expected" or "socially approved" standard of living for any class or group tends to be set by the habits of families with incomes per head about, or above, the average for that class, that is (where flat-rate payment is in force), with about or below the average number of dependents. But even if families, at their peak, are typically of the size treated as desirable by Catholic social thought, the *average* number of dependents attached to a man throughout his working life will not be more than about two. Any mathematician or economist can here put down a few equations. Let the rest of us jump straight to the conclusion that, if an attempt is made to fix wages and salaries at a flat rate, payable to all men with or without families, and high enough to allow each man to keep five dependents (if he had them) at a standard fixed by the habits of two-dependent families, the money paid out will add up to much more than is needed to buy the goods and services available at existing prices. This (if there is full employment, or somewhere near it) is the definition of inflation.

And the solution to all this? The practical men, the employer and trade union member of the Guild's committee, who must have between them a couple of centuries of negotiating experience, very quickly found one. The original wage claim went forward on the basis that the Guild's employee was an unskilled worker. The practical men pointed out that he was in fact a semi-skilled worker, of a grade entitled under normal practice to eight or nine pounds a week. At this level his wage was duly fixed. And this satisfied everyone.

It satisfied Theorists A, because eight or nine pounds was the figure they had first asked for as the five-dependent family living wage of an *unskilled* worker. They quietly forgot that on their own principles a five-dependent wage for a *semi-skilled* worker would be much higher.

It satisfied Theorists B, who thought this figure about right as a two-dependent wage for a semi-skilled man. They in their turn overlooked, for the sake of peace and quiet, that on their principles a further step was needed. The initial flat payment to all workers of the given grade had still to be converted, by organizing a family allowance scheme, into a satisfactory means of supporting a family. As it happens—not that this makes any difference to the question of justice, as apart from hardship—the man in question is at present unmarried.

It satisfied the practical men, because it produced the sort of wage they were used to for that sort of worker anyway.

It satisfied the Guild's employee, who got more pay.

Thus everyone was satisfied, justice (in moderation) was done, and face was saved all around. But the Catholic Social Guild still does not know what constitutes a family living wage.

MICHAEL P. FOGARTY.

# THE STAGE

## THE NEW YORK CITY OPERA

A supremacy of taste, daring, the ability to surprise: how little one associates such terms with contemporary techniques of operatic production. Yet it is precisely these elements which the New York City Opera has restored, in a generous measure, to the musical life of this city. Working outward from the perimeter which encloses the traditional lyric repertoire—those *disjecta membra* of the nineteenth century, the *Carmens,* the *Traviatas,* the *Butterflys*—they have moved into an area of provocative excitement and freshness to which the Metropolitan long ago closed its doors.

In musicianship, this company has developed steadily from a careful, genteel competence to genuine authority; theirs indeed is a success story which—owing all to sensitivity and diligence and boldness—must command a pride no less justified because flavored with a chauvinistic pleasure.



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In the spring engagement, recently concluded at the City Center, the substance of the repertoire consisted again of Verdi, Puccini, Mozart, Bizet. These productions have always the virtues of modesty and taste; they make available to a large and various public the musical experience which theatrical economics have rendered increasingly prohibitive.

What they lack however—even in so impeccable a *Figaro,* so harmonious and inventive a *Rosenkavalier* —is the stimulus of novelty. It is not within the resources of this company—nor should it be their intention—to operate on the truly grand and opulent scale of which the Metropolitan (even at this summit of its dusty elegance) is capable.

So it is that they have succeeded most brilliantly in an uncharted territory: Prokofieff, Ravel, Menotti, Bartok. About these composers, the shell of convention has not yet hardened; it is possible to approach them—as theatrical, no less than musical problems—on fresh imaginative terms.

To illustrate: Ravel's *L'Heure Espagnole* plays itself out among washes of sunny color, heat and light lending their own vivacity to a droll and puckish score. The patina of German expressionism which overlays Bartok's *Blue Beard's Castle* is heightened by the phosphorescent exoticism of its decor. And even so simply explicit a work as Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors* assumes, through the romantic archaism of Eugene Berman's style, something of the lyrical feeling and texture of an Italian primitive.

Musically, the values of these operas are specialized. *Bluebeard's Castle* strikes one as rather a Slavic misunderstanding: a ballet wedded to a pretentious libretto, and interrupted on occasion by a vocal text of singularly small interest. Ravel's jest is ingenious, charming and thin, an *opera bouffé* of the first class. But both compositions are rich in that orchestral lustre and intoxication which distinguishes their composers elsewhere. Of Menotti, we have had, perhaps, a surfeit. *The Medium* still bewitches, but it suffers here from an indifferent performance which fails to give the screw its last grueling turn. Tenderness of spirit sustains *Amahl,* while *The Consul*—that curious operatic blend of Koestler and *kitsch*—continues to exist by virtue of its masterful second act, and the grandeur (moral as well as musical) of Patricia Neway's memorably tragic interpretation.

TWO revivals scored heavily this season: Rossini's *La Cenerentola,* which has not had (I think) a local representation in over a century, and Marc Blitzstein's *Regina,* so regrettably a commercial failure on Broadway some years ago. In both idioms—Rossini's neat and florid style, Blitzstein's strong and jagged rhythms —the company displayed mastery.

*La Cenerentola* (Cinderella) is not an opera of special interest, but the stage picture it presented—in the candied, Disney decor Rouben Ter-Arutunian designed from suggestions of Mr. Lincoln Kirstein—was so bright and delicious as to disarm resistance. However, Mr. Blitzstein's version of Miss Hellman's "The Little Foxes" was, for this listener, the true fountain of excitement. No American composer outside of Virgil Thomson has written an opera of such stature and durability.

As a theatre piece, *Regina* is incisive and mordant; musically, it employs a wealth of traditional operatic resources—choral numbers, arias, quartets—with spectacular success. Its orchestral scoring is lucid and taut, with none of the vulgar virtuosity which muddies so much of *Porgy and Bess.* And it received here vocalism of high power and distinction, with stage direction (by Mr. Robert Lewis) that is, in the best sense, theatrically knowledgeable. In all its details, but especially in its summits such as the "Rain Quartet" and the closing aria, *Regina* constantly aspires to—and achieves—the shape and beauty of a work of art.

There is a melancholy irony in the fact that the City Center should be engaged at this moment in its first public appeal for funds. In its several departments, this is a cultural organization which has more than justified its claim to our generous attention. Its ballet has been accorded international recognition; its drama company enriched the past season with two sumptuous and imaginative productions, and now this operatic troupe has brought new blood and vitality to a weary branch of musical literature.

The American tradition of philanthropy is an honorable one, but to regard support for the City Center as a gesture of charity would be an intolerable luxury. Without it, we should be the impoverished, and ours too the sharp and humiliating responsibility.

RICHARD HAYES.

# THE SCREEN

### *WHERE ANGELS FEAR*

PERHAPS only the Italians could have made "Il Cristo Proibito," an extraordinary film now being shown in this country under the title of "Strange Deception." It tells the story of an Italian soldier who returns to his village in Tuscany after being released from a Russian PW camp long after the war is over. His main purpose in life is vengeance against the betrayer of his young brother, a partisan shot by the Nazis after the betrayal. But the villagers, weary of war and bloodshed, will not reveal the name of the betrayer. They are all disturbed by a sense of guilt. Finally, after the returned soldier has estranged himself from most of the villagers, his closest friend, who



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believes that mankind can be saved only by sacrifice, intimates that he is the betrayer. The returned soldier then reluctantly kills his friend. Later, when he discovers who the real betrayer was, he is powerless to do more killing.

The bare plot of "Strange Deception" is its least intriguing asset. What makes the film memorable is an aura of mysticism, its powerful portrayal of the suffering through which man must go in this vale of tears (although "tears are not enough to wash away blood") and its daring in presenting ideas unusual to movies, such as the inaccessibility of perfection in this dark world and wide.

Like so many of the Chaplin films, "Strange Deception" is mainly a one-man job. Curzio Malaparte, who wrote the script from his own story, produced and directed the picture and composed the music for it. "Strange Deception" has its faults. It is frequently too talky and sometimes the ideas it deals with are too difficult for the cinematic medium to convey. This is especially so during some of the breast-beating scenes when the metaphysics of sacrifice are explained through the dialogue. Also the English subtitles do not accurately translate the full meaning for those who don't understand Italian. But the picture's virtues far outnumber its drawbacks.

The good acting of the cast (headed by Raf Vallone as the returned soldier) and the stunning photography of the countryside and of Siena where most of the action takes place add to the film's appeal. Most attractive is "Strange Deception's" stirring religious quality. Symbols are used effectively throughout, but especially well in the church scenes and during the fiesta with its religious procession and emotionally disturbing "Game of the Cross." Actually, the Cross dominates "Strange Deception" and while the film asks more questions than it answers in regard to the existence of good and evil, its final scenes (with the returned soldier asking why the innocent must always pay, "Why? Why? Why?") will leave audiences shaken to the depths. "Strange Deception" is a film to rank with Italy's best—"Shoe Shine" and "The Bicycle Thief."

THE French and Italians have combined talents for a lengthy potpourri effort called "The Seven Deadly Sins," which starts out with a flip carnival atmosphere, but once it gets going into its various stories, the themes are very serious indeed. Like the minister in the story about Calvin Coolidge, this film is agin sin. Except in two cases, that is: Sloth is done in a jovial fantasy mood, and Gluttony is told as if it were a sort of farmer's-daughter joke.

Avarice and Anger are combined into one story about a greedy landlord and his tempestuous wife (Isa Miranda). Fortunately there is a third character, a nice, impecunious music teacher who gives the tale an O. Henry finale.

Since each sin-story is staged by a different director and with a new cast, the whole film has an uneven quality. Unfortunately the best story (Pride) comes near the end when you are practically worn out from all the previous exposition of wrong-doing. Claude Autant-Lara directed this one, and its theme is beautifully acted by Francoise Rosay and Michele Morgan as an over-proud mother and daughter.

Surprisingly enough, one of the least effective of the stories is Lust, in which Director Yves Allegret got so arty that the point of the story is practically lost. Roberto Rossellini's contribution is Envy, based on a fascinating cat story by Colette. Although the plot is thin, the evil done by envy is effectively established. Without any doubt, the most startling of the sequences comes at the picture's end when Gerard Philipe, who plays the barker in the carnival background introducing the various sins, comes up with an eighth sin. It wouldn't be fair to tell you what this sin is; but if ever cinema showed its power to suggest something that isn't there, it does so in this amazing finale.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

# COMMUNICATIONS

## "CLERICALISM, ANTI-CLERICALISM"

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: There are certain erroneous presuppositions in Mr. Flynn's bill of complaint against 'clericalism' [April 17], which should not be allowed to pass uncontradicted. He assigns competence over the "natural and temporal" to the State and gives the latter jurisdiction over marriage to the extent that it is natural. This seems to say that the spiritual is not natural to man, but only his earthly and temporal interests. The supernatural order is founded on man's basic spiritual nature and capacities, which are integrated therein by being elevated to a new and higher potential. Man does not exist in his natural order, and he never has. Therefore the State cannot have dominion over him by such title. The State is natural to man, but its limits are the terrestrial not the whole natural order.

Marriage is a case in point. Man's *natural* capacity to contract and consummate marriage is subject to the Church's jurisdiction in the case of one baptized, whose nature has thereby been raised to a supernatural level. The State's competence in this instance is solely over mere temporal effects, such as inheritance, dower rights. It is indeed true that the education of children



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is the proper function of the family, as it is of the Church and State. However, this function of the family is not grounded merely on natural relationship but the supernatural one as well (the parents are an organ within the Mystical Body), and every exercise of its function is under the higher dominion of the Church's supernatural mission.

It is entirely false to conclude that the *ultimate* decision as to the application of moral law or canon law rests with the individual and his conscience. The authority to teach divine law includes the right to apply it authoritatively to the individual person. A confessor has jurisdiction from his Bishop and is no mere moral consultant. His primary role is that of a judge; to bind or loose. It is true that he judges on the evidence presented by the penitent alone, but he does render a decision in the case. A penitent may seek another decision elsewhere or he can ignore the decision rendered, but he has no power to annul the authority of the confessor or the validity of his decision. This is true of every confessional decision regarding the moral law.

In the case of the Church's own law, a dispensation is given, not by the subject to himself, but by the action of an authorized deputy. He has the power to give a dispensation or to withhold it. He cannot dispense without reason, but when he acts, even with a reason only probably sufficient, the dispensation is solely within his discretion. The subject dispensed may indeed refuse to use the dispensation given. Yet he is none the less free of the law's obligation.

Since we have fallen into the use of legal terms, perhaps we might make the further observation that Mr. Flynn gives 'clericalism' a very broad interpretation, by so designating the error that lay life is the life of imperfection and mediocrity. For the fact is that neither lay life nor clerical life is a *state of perfection,* and both layman and cleric must face that fact, without losing thereby the desire to be perfect, each in his chosen way of life. Undoubtedly it is true that priests desire to fill their ranks with the best prospects they can find. Such efforts are for the good of the Church. If Mr. Flynn is an historian or a philosopher, we can imagine that he might try to turn his best students into historians or philosophers (and I hope with success). But surely this is not a conspiracy against science professors and sociologists. Priests are not engaged in a campaign to drain lay life of its talent and leadership because they constantly seek out more and better qualified candidates for the priesthood.

There is much in Mr. Flynn's article to merit commendation. The above criticism does not detract from these merits; nor is it intended to negate the timeliness of the article.

*(Very Rev.)* FRANCIS B. DONNELLY.

# Jung and The Christians

## KARL STERN

WHEN Freud made his first revolutionary discoveries, the academic schools of psychiatry and psychology ignored or ridiculed him. There was only one notable exception. This was the University of Zürich. Eugen Bleuler and Carl Gustav Jung were the first academic psychiatrists to accept the dynamic approach of the psychoanalytic school. In a now historical group photograph of one of the early conventions of the psychoanalysts (in Weimar) Jung can be seen together with Freud.

This must have been around the time when Jung made his studies on the psychology of dementia praecox (schizophrenia) and on the free association of words, studies which in the meantime have become classical. Incidentally, it was in the paper on word association that Jung first used the noun "complex" to connote a constellation of ideas which are charged with a common affective tone. (This is worth mentioning because it is an index of the historical impact of the entire development; the technical term "complex," with that specific meaning, has since then become a common word in everyday language).

Very soon, however, Jung published observations which seemed incompatible with the Freudian theory, and the inevitable break occurred. He found that the unconscious did not only contain material which was stored away on account of being unacceptable or disturbing to the Ego. The unconscious represented also a positive, creative principle. The unconscious was no longer, as in the famous psychoanalytical comparison, the weird attic with all discarded bric-a-brac alive and kicking. The word "archaic" stood no longer merely for all that which we have outstripped or which we should have outstripped. It comprised layers of psychic apparatus which are necessary if the spiritual roots are to be properly nourished.

In a vague way it had always been known that creative geniuses and mystics do not work with the conscious part of their mind only. There are many examples in the history of religion, science and art which show that creativeness is not merely a process of figuring something out on the conscious intellectual level: "God gives freely to His chosen ones while they are asleep." But with Jung's observations all this assumed an entirely new aspect.

Dr. Stern, author of "Pillar of Fire," is Chief of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Ottawa.



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Moreover, Jung followed the metamorphosis of Libido, from instinctual drives to desexualized forms of Eros, much more extensively than Freud had already done with his concept of sublimation. He gave a new meaning to the masculine and the feminine principle in the psychic structure, an antithesis which could be rediscovered, as it were, in the life of the spirit.

It is impossible to give in this article a survey of the main points of Jung's psychology, even if it were only in terms of headings. Jung's work is aphoristic, contrary to Freud, who is so alluringly systematic. Jung is even proud of this fact, though I always felt that he made a virtue out of weakness.

HOWEVER, even the few examples indicated above show one thing, namely that the Christian reader finds himself with Jung in a strangely familiar atmosphere. Frequently there is something like a sensation of *déjà vu*. Just as Freud re-thought, without being aware of it, many ideas which the romantic school of the Philosophy of Nature, and Schopenhauer and Nietzsche had anticipated, Jung's ideas strike a familiar chord which echoes all the way from Carus and Goethe back to the Fathers of the Church, and to the early Platonist Christian and Gnostic thinkers. With Jung you often are at a loss to know whether you have passed from the psychological into the ontological range.

With the portentous discovery by a modern psychologist that (to use common Christian terminology) the Holy Ghost refuses to be stopped at the border of consciousness, Catholics should have leapt to their feet. They did not. Catholic thinkers practically ignored Jung for a long time. Freud was quite early given serious consideration, first in a purely negative manner, later, by a surprisingly large number of Catholics, in a positive way. Catholic philosophers and psychologists seemed unwilling to touch Jung's Analytical Psychology with a ten-foot pole, as the saying goes.

This could not possibly be due only to the fact that Freud was so much more in the public mind. It had, in my opinion, two reasons, one good and one bad. Here is the good reason: Jung's ideas are closely related to certain fashionable Gnostic trends in present-day Europe. This type of Neo-Gnosis often goes with an olympic aloofness which looks upon all mystic and quasi-mystic experiences with equal benevolence. And, as a German philosopher friend of mine once remarked with a pun: "Das gleich Gültige wird gleichgültig." (That which is equally relevant becomes irrelevant). In only a very few people is this type of approach compatible with faith and humanity.

Now here is the bad reason: although Saint Thomas seems to have much more of the Platonic element than one commonly thinks, modern interpreters have often represented a form of Thomism which is deprived of all this. Many Thomists of modern times have presented the Angelic Doctor in the form of a cut and dried system, like some sort of a philosophical *Code Napoléon*. Such a version of Saint Thomas makes people impermeable to the spirit of poetic intuition, and makes them blind towards the kind of insights which the English Dominican, Victor White, presents in *God and the Unconscious* [Foreword by C. G. Jung and Appendix by Gebhard Frei. Regnery.$4.].

A CRITICAL study of Jung from a Catholic point of view had been needed for a long time. Father White approached his task with all the prerequisites: with a remarkable degree of erudition, with plain and simple courage, and with a great love for the subject. A particular merit of Father White's approach lies in the fact that he is able to relate Jung's observations to the history of Western thought—to the spiritual crisis of our century, to the Romantic movement, to the philosophy of Saint Thomas and of Aristotle, to patristic testimonies, and to Holy Scripture itself. In doing this he achieves a variety of things. He explains many Jungian concepts to the uninitiated reader better than Jung himself was ever able to do. Moreover, the average Catholic reader, who is bewildered by that process of Gnostic initiation on the couch, feels reassured. It really appears to fit in somehow or other. And, last but not least, to many readers a new world is opened up, the world of the Philosophy of Nature of the early Nineteenth Century—Goethe, Carus and all that. It is a historical paradox that Catholics were frequently more eager than others to embrace a Cartesian dualism and to bypass anything "un-scientific."

Father White's thesis is limited to philosophical and theological investigation. It is not supposed to present more than that. Therefore the therapist misses out on a great number of things. Although Father White emphasizes that Jung approaches the problem of neurosis from an angle so entirely different from that of Freud, the reader closes the book asking himself how the neurotic symptom is resolved in actual practice by Analytical Psychology.

This touches on the weakest point of the book, namely the treatment of Freudian Psychoanalysis. Freud's statements on religion are superficial inanities. To the clinically inexperienced reader his psychology sounds like straight pornography. Therefore if one wants to present an argument of "Jung vs. Freud" to Christian readers, Freud is a sitting target. At times one is almost tempted to appeal to Father White's sense of sportsmanship. For example, the fascinating work of Catholic analysts of the Freudian School (such as



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Laforge, Odier, Choisy, Father Bernaert, Father Mailloux, the entire group around *Psyché*) and the work of Zilboorg is not even mentioned. For a book otherwise abounding in bibliographic references this is a remarkable omission.

Many of us, like the present reviewer, who are day by day facing the endless procession of neurotic suffering, from conversion hysteria to psychosomatic disease, from obsessive-compulsive states to juvenile delinquency, can no longer conceive of a clinical psychiatry without Freudian concepts. Jung himself would be the last one to deny this. He often emphasized it. He also emphasized that psychotherapy means death and re-birth. And this means to work with humus before the blossoms can be touched. A book on the transcendental aspects of the unconscious ought to tackle this point because it has transcendental implications.

Thus, if it contained less of the "versus," this otherwise brilliant book would gain enormously. Furthermore, just on some subjects in which Jung has made up for Freud's greatest inherent weaknesses (for example on the concept of *Animus* and *Anima*) the author does not instruct us sufficiently. Some of these shortcomings are due to the fact, as Father White himself apologetically states, that the book actually consists of a collection of loosely gathered essays. It is a pity that these shortcomings are just enough to detract from the value of a magnificent and extremely stimulating study.

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**BOOKS**

# The Reconciliation of Art and Intelligence

FEELING AND FORM: A Theory of Art developed from PHILOSOPHY IN A NEW KEY. By Susanne K. Langer. Scribner's. $7.

By ROBERT FITZGERALD

MRS. Langer's new book strikes me as a victorious achievement in philosophy. No doubt it will be found deficient in some respects, as it is deliberately limited in others, but those who are able to correct or develop her work will owe much of their instruction to her. The light and warmth and depth of her writing show up most academic or journalistic writers on the arts like baffled beetles on a sunlit floor. Jacques Maritain's *Art and Scholasticism* is one of the few previous works on aesthetics that *Feeling and Form* does not at once render superfluous or worse. It is also, sadly enough, one of the few others that Mrs. Langer does not mention.

In general, Mrs. Langer is both scholarly and fair toward the previous work on her subject. Though she finds nowhere in it a systematic philosophy of art, she finds the seeds and roots of such a theory everywhere. But poor thinking does not please Mrs. Langer. She observes, for example, that Nietzsche's treatment of her terms—Feeling and Form—as "polar" principles was merely an unfortunate metaphor, since the two things are not related as positive and negative. Feeling and form are involved in every work of art because every work of art is an expressive form symbolic of human feeling. Mrs. Langer has learned that there are not only discursive logical forms but non-discursive ones, no less logical, and likewise symbolic of things known:

> The function of music is not stimulation of feeling, but expression of it; and furthermore, not the symptomatic expression of feelings that beset the composer but a symbolic expression of the forms of sentience as he understands them. It bespeaks his imagination of feelings rather than his own emotional state, and expresses what he *knows about* the so-called "inner life"; and this may exceed his personal case, because music is a symbolic form to him through which he may learn as well as utter ideas of human sensibility.

I cannot overstate the beauty and hope I find in such formulations as this, for they embrace art and what we usually call "thought" together as works of intelligence. The arrogation of that gift to themselves by philosophers and scientists—at the expense of artists—has been a scandal of Western culture. Mrs. Langer is perfectly clear and even tart in distinguishing philosophic truth as the exclusive province of discursive logic, and good logic at that. But she can say with complete consistency, "Thinking is part of our instinctive activity—the most human, emotional, and individual part."

Mrs. Langer's general principle is not only profound but fecund in brilliant discussions of the several arts: music, painting, architecture, sculpture, poetry, fiction, drama and the dance. As every artist knows, the academic aesthetician when brought to ground often reveals a gamut of true passion running from the Parthenon to the painting of Ingres (possibly I exaggerate a little). The taste evidenced in this book is fiery and versatile. And Mrs. Langer does not shirk in the end the most difficult questions concerning not only the nature of art but the way to judge it. Here she finds herself in agreement with R. G. Collingwood's *Principles of Art*: "Art which is . . . distorted at its very source by lack of candor is bad art, and it is bad because it is not true to *what a candid envisagement would have been.* Candor is the standard: 'seeing straight'. . . ."

With Collingwood's frantic and untenable denial of art as either a craft or an entertainment, however, Mrs. Langer does not agree. It is a pleasure to see her dismantle his argument, along with Croce's similar theory of artistic expression requiring no medium. Confusion wages a losing battle with Mrs. Langer.

One's immediate suggestions for the improvement of her work must be few and mild. I think that in her discussion of poetry she might have mentioned Mr. Eliot's notion of the



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artist finding an "objective correlative" of imagined emotion, for it seems in harmony with her theory. I have alluded to her neglect of Maritain—a neglect which she may intend to repair in subsequent work on the nature of artistic abstraction. The publisher has allowed typographical errors on pages 27, 89, 107, 229, 247, 255, 256, 272, 292 and 330; that makes ten, and ten is too many for a book of this quality.

It is not entirely the fault of philosophy that we have waited so long for such a treatise as Mrs. Langer's. Indeed this impression of having "waited so long," which I am sure most of her readers will feel, is partly justified and partly illusory. The time within our memory has been one of exploration in the arts, of adventures that had to be carried out before any theoretical work could reach definition. There has been intellectual disorder, but there have also been artistic discoveries.

It is also true, however, that before philosophy could cope with the arts as we know them, that discipline itself had to emerge from the phases of pragmatism and positivism by which it seemed so enfeebled, speculatively and humanly. At one point in this book Mrs. Langer speaks with dry contrition of certain youthful futilities of her own. Whitehead and Cassirer appear to have helped her most in putting "science" where it belongs among the kinds and degrees of human knowledge. Her work is evidence of the recuperative powers of philosophy as such—that is, as a humanistic study and mistress of the other humanistic studies.

# One Who Believed in Man

FATHER TOMPKINS OF NOVA SCOTIA. By George Boyle. Kenedy. $3.

By LEO R. WARD

IT is easy to summarize Father Tompkins' view of education: the university is engaged for the most part in helping favored sons to remain favored and become more favored. This should not be. It should be designed for the best brains we have, to wrestle with the worst problems we have. It should go to the people not merely in the sense of helping the people, by furnishing leaders, for example, but it should educate the people. Because it has defaulted, the thing for the people to do is, not to wait for university professors, but to educate themselves.

This, quite to their own and everybody else's surprise, the people can do. Father Tompkins was the one man who believed they could do it. His big job was to convince them. He said he preferred the cracker-barrel type of education to endowed "fossilized formal courses." He was against the latter, but much more for the former—because it went directly to the people. When we were swimming one day in the Atlantic, I heard him telling a young man what a marvelous thing it is to be a teacher: "You can help


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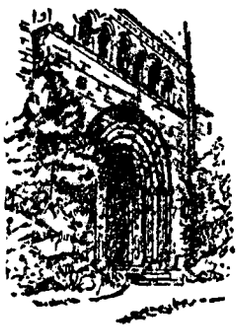

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people to know things, the things they need to know."

Degrees and acquirements, he said, were like displaced products: they "end in livelihood, in personal distinction, in social advancement, and not (where they ought to) in the enrichment and uplift of the common life."

From first to last he was a commoner, a believer in the common man, in what he repeatedly called the common little fellow. It seems to me that I never saw another with so great a belief in man. Still, it was a hard row to hoe, and he said it was hard. He said it is hard to believe in man and that the person who does believe in man will be a martyr.

Father Tompkins was a sort of martyr, whether because imprudent or only because impatient. As vice-president of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, he buttonholed everybody—a lifetime habit of his—and told them what was the condition of education throughout Nova Scotia and what it ought to be. He did this with vigor and persistance. Almost in one leap he landed in Canso, then the most discouraged and poverty-stricken parish. He was demoted, empty-handed, and for a moment disheartened. Soon he had the Canso and Dover fishermen believing that perhaps they could learn and do things. Then they learned them and did them. They lifted themselves out of the worst economic and human depression, which had been a continual state with them. This poor Canso and Dover parish became something new and good in its own eyes, and in it was centered one of the most remarkable adult education experiments of all times.

The point is that the fishermen could learn the things they needed to know. They could learn and do. One man could not do it, and one by one the crowd could not do it. The men learning together and doing together could do what needed to be done. Hence a cooperative is a tool that adult education uses.

George Boyle was precisely the man to write the life of Father Tompkins. He was one of the many inspired by him; he saw his work in the sense of working with it and with the Tompkins-inspired Antigonish movement for many years. The book is worthy of its subject. Since the book is definitive, a reader would like to see a little more clearly—if the matter is available—why Father Tompkins was banished from the University. Also, though we hear the subject talking, we would like to have even more of the story in that racy and acid Tompkins style.

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## After the Light

MODERN RUSSIAN LITERATURE. By Marc Slonim. Oxford. $6.80.

By JOHN COURNOS

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died, and the great Tolstoy turned from creative works to pamphleteering, while Turgenev was writing *Senilia,* a book of slight poems in prose, his last before his death two years later. The concurrent events marked the end of an age, the passing of the giants whose activities justified the sometimes-given name of the Golden Age, and the ushering-in of a new age which no less correctly has been called the Twilight. The first began with Pushkin and Gogol, the second with Chekhov and Gorky.

There has never been any dispute about this demarcation. Thus, the brilliant Prince Mirsky, who was brutally disposed of in one of the Trotskyist purges, divided his superb two-volume history of Russian literature, and, in this respect, there was no alternative for the judicious Mr. Slonim but to follow suit, though Mr. Slonim, being alive and on the staff of the Sarah Lawrence College, has been in a position to bring this second volume of his critical history to date, and, in some instances, to enrich it with specific details unavailable at the time Mirsky wrote his book.

An outstanding example of this is his essay on Alexander Blok, the one truly great poet of the Twilight period, whom Mr. Slonim ranks among the first six great Russian poets. We have learned from Mirsky of Blok's disillusionment with the Bolsheviks after his writing of *The Scythians* and *The Twelve,* but from Mr. Slonim we learn of the precise nature of this disillusionment, and the pathetic words which are among the last entries of his diary, in which he speaks of his "love-hatred of Russia." "At this moment," he wrote, "I have neither soul nor body; I am ill as I have never been before. Vile, rotten Mother Russia has devoured me, has gobbled me up as a sow gobbles one of its suckling pigs." A month after writing these lines he lapsed into a state of mental depression, the following month he went out of his mind, and soon afterwards died in physical agony and delirium.

Generally, Mr. Slonim's opinions of Russian writers coincide with those of Mirsky, though the latter had the greater gift of calling a spade, sometimes with finesse, as when he said of the modern Alexey N. Tolstoy that he was "a very curious combination of very great natural gifts and a complete absence of brains."

Mr. Slonim, appears to agree with this judgment, but he is in a position to give us new insights into the development of Tolstoy in his role as convert to Communism, a role which, with his volatile mind, he fulfilled successfully and profitably. He became a Best Seller. His revised *The Road to Calvary,* which he spoiled from its original version to please the Bolsheviks, was atoned for later by *Peter I,* which Mr. Slonim considers his masterpiece. Quite apparently a work of art, it also offers a justification for Soviet expansion and imperialism.

On the other hand, changing dogmas eliminated such fine writers as Babel and Pilniak, in the same purge that eliminated Mirsky. A rapid deterioration of critical and artistic standards set in. The Formalists were suppressed for their adherence to form as an essential of art. After this there is but little left to say, and what Mr. Slonim does say of the writers of this last period may be summed up in one word: sterility. All of Mr. Slonim's hopes are for the future. And if a word were needed for this third age of Russian literature, that word would be Darkness, the logical successor to Twilight.

**REVIEWERS**

**Robert Fitzgerald, poet and critic, has contributed to numerous literary publications.**

**Father Leo R. Ward, CSC, long a student of the Cooperative movement, is a member of the Philosophy faculty at the University of Notre Dame.**

**John Cournos writes frequently for The Commonweal and other journals.**


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# *Catholics and American Democracy*

In the June 12 issue, John Cogley concludes his discussion of "Catholics and American Democracy," which begins in this issue of The Commonweal. He says in part:

"Whereas dogma is widely regarded as being unworthy of an American's proud independence of mind, Catholics cheerfully accept the religious doctrines and moral precepts of their Church as infallibly true and binding in conscience. Whereas most Americans subscribe to the idea that religion is a wholly private matter, the Catholic publicly proclaims his belief in an unchanging Natural Law to which not only Catholics themselves but all men are bound. In a nation where it is a bromide that all religious paths lead to God and that in the last analysis one Church is just about as good as another, Catholics say baldly that theirs is the only true faith, eternally right, and all others are more or less false. . . .

"These are only a few instances where Catholics are 'different.' If the area of difference were as narrow as that setting off Christian Scientists or Seventh Day Adventists, Catholics might merely be deemed eccentrics. Or if we were as few in number as the Biblical pacifists, we might be treated, as they are, with benign tolerance. Of if we were as withdrawn as the single-minded sects which, in their search for heaven on earth, have cut themselves off from the steady stream of national life, we might go generally unnoticed. But Catholics in American life are numerous, well-organized and politically active. There is a growing feeling that we are too numerous, too well-organized and that Catholic political power is potential dynamite. It would be highly unrealistic, in any discussion of Catholics and American Democracy, not to take this feeling—if that is not too mild a word—into account."


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